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ABSTRACT

The two purposes of this issues paper are to provide a brief description of the educational programs the Toronto Board of Education offers for both the children and the adults of the entire multiethnic community and to set out the general, but critical, relationship of the school system with the city's ethnic communities. The paper outlines various categories, or types, of issues into which personal and direct concerns resulting from personal experiences of the individual ethnic student or family may be placed. Ten issues, seen as dimensions of the problem as it exists in its pragmatic and contemporary form, rather than as fundamental causes of the problem as a whole, are (1) cultural identity, (2) streaming, (3) reception and placement, (4) ascription, (5) teachers' and school principals' perceptions, (6) extra Anglo-Canadian ethnic groups' perceptions, (7) schools' contacts with extra Anglo-Canadian ethnic communities, (8) school system's support services, (9) extra Anglo-Canadian ethnic teachers, and (10) ghetto-ization. (Author/DB)

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SP 009 032

THE BIAS OF CULTURE

AN ISSUE PAPER

ON

MULTICULTURALISM

SP 009 032

October 25, 1974
The Board of Education for the
City of Toronto
Revised April, 1975.

CULTURAL BIAS IN ACTION

General Issues:

I The issue of Cultural Identity in both the children and the adults of ethnic communities of other than Anglo-Canadian origin:

(a) The inherent competition for a child's cultural allegiance;

(b) The implications of language differences between the home and the school;

(c) The impact of cultural difference on the child.

II The issue of Streaming, and

III The School's Reception and Placement of the New Canadian student.

IV The question of Ascription which shapes decisions as to the placement and subsequent school and life careers of immigrant children.

V The issue of Teachers' and School Principals' Perception of the New Canadian student.

VI The issue of Extra Anglo-Canadian Ethnic Groups' Perception of the local school and, by extension, the school system.

VII The nature and character of the Schools' Contact with Extra Anglo-Canadian Ethnic Communities.

VIII The character, organization and operational function of the School System's Support Services.

IX Extra Anglo-Canadian Ethnic Teachers in the school system and their promotion to positions of responsibility.

X The issue of multicultural programs in the school and assumptions and questions about Ghetto-ization.

INTRODUCTION

This issue paper has two purposes. One is to provide the reader with a brief description of the educational programs the Toronto Board of Education offers for both the children and the adults of the entire multi-ethnic population. The other is to set out the general, but critical issues which appear to identify the relationship of the school system with the city's ethnic communities.

The paper makes no attempt to identify or list all the specific and direct concerns which result from personal experience an individual ethnic student or family may have encountered in a specific relationship with a school. What it does do is outline various categories or types of issues into which such personal and direct concerns resulting from personal experiences may fall.

Nor does this paper intend to imply that the outline of the categories or types of issues is final or complete. Indeed, it represents little more than the beginning of a broad inquiry into the entire question of providing maximum educational opportunities for the many diverse ethnic populations in the city. As inquiry into the question proceeds, other types or categories of issues may well assert themselves and subject the present outline to additions or changes.

The ten issues presented here are not issues which underly the problem of educational opportunity development for immigrant people; they are dimensions of the problem itself as it exists in its pragmatic and contemporary form. Certainly, a fundamental cause accounts for the actual existence of the problem as a whole. It is buried deep under the relationship between the many and diverse cultural and linguistic heritages of the city's ethnic communities and the cultural and linguistic heritage which established the school system in the first place. As significant as that cause is to the question of education for the city's ethnic population, a delineation of its history and a description of how it works is out of place in terms of this paper's specific intent.

However, it is not the intent of this observation to imply that the inquiry itself intends to ignore the profound significance of this underlying cause. Nor is it the intent to imply that the trustees involved in the inquiry mean to ignore either the cause or its significance. On the contrary, there is the opposite intent to keep consideration AND COMPREHENSION of this basic cause at the very centre of deliberations on all other issues involved in the education of ethnic population.

I Cultural Identity

(a) Cultural Allegiance

Given the specific bias of culture which forms the base of a school system, it must follow that the individual schools of the system transmit a SPECIFIC and DOMINANT MESSAGE to the young personality for whom that base and the heritage it represents is alien. The message is simply that the cultural base which previously provided that personality with its identity and all the necessary assurances of its validity is, inexplicably, no longer valid. During the beginning stages of h/er new school career, the student is unable to participate in any meaningful way in the "host" culture represented in the life and character of the school environment. Simultaneously, the lack of meaning and value of the old culture becomes a source of discouragement. Trapped between a life in which participation appears overwhelmingly impossible and that in which participating no longer appears valid, the immigrant student is relegated to an amorphous and marginal existence between two worlds which the mutually discrete cultures represent. But life in that narrow corridor between two cultures is untenable in the human condition, and the drive to achieve identity is indomitable. The student's own original culture and the new "host" culture

conflict and place h/er at the centre of a competition for h/er cultural allegiance.

Three possibilities exist for the student in this situation:

(i) S/he may remain in the corridor simply as a result of h/er necessity to avoid the stress and consequences of affirming one allegiance over the other;

(ii) S/he may elect to align h/erself with the culture of the school and become caught in the dual process of seeking an acceptance in one and rejecting the other;

(iii) S/he may maintain h/er alliance with h/er family and its culture along with a rejection of the culture of the school.

What is obvious about these possibilities is that from the student's position, none of them is educationally, emotionally, socially or culturally viable. Each poses consequences of serious impact the effects of which may remain with the student throughout h/er entire life. Whether the student eventually responds to any one of the possibilities consciously or whether choice merely results from response to pressures beyond the student's conscious control is not a question in this context. The issue is that the effects of decision become clear in what ultimately happens rather than in a conscious or deliberate articulation of choice. The least that may occur is that a rejection of the school's culture in favour of the original culture will limit a full involvement in the school career.

Should rejection of the home culture and acceptance of the school culture result from conscious or unconscious choice, it is not possible to overestimate the effects. In such a case, a self-administered cultural transplant surgery carries a dual impact along with it. As the choice forms, the student begins to draw apart from the culture and its meaning which the family, especially the parents and grandparents, represents. Repression of the original culture virtually means that, in a very real sense, the young individual actually loses his parents. In addition, the same repression removes the very foundation upon which the student's future education and general growth depend.

In a third instance, should the student avoid the stress of making any choice at all, s/he would have made the choice to spend what could be an entire lifetime in the "corridor" between two cultures. Thus, s/he would benefit only marginally as a result of minimum involvement in either culture. In effect, the student who choses to waive the need for identification with either culture risks losing the best of both worlds.

(b) Language Differences

Probably the most immediate and most easily comprehensible (though by no means the most profound) manifestation of cultural incompatibility is the oral-aural signal system which the membership of different cultures develops for the purpose of

sharing intra-cultural life. We call the system language, and we call the process sharing for which it functions as a medium of communication. After the opening phases of his school career, some success in learning the language of his new culture, a new Canadian student had an observation to make in one of his first essays in English: "Unhappiness is when the teacher talks to you and you don't understand her ... more unhappiness is when you talk to the teacher and she doesn't understand you". Because the language differences are immediately recognizable, they generate an immediate impact on the student which effects h/er perception of status in the school both educationally as a student, and socially as an aspirant to membership in the student population. As a result, h/er perspective on h/er own future becomes that of the "disadvantaged" child. While this drastic shift of perspective may prove to be the most immediate effect of language differences, there are other ramifications of the condition which are both numerous and monumental.

It is important to address the question of the difference between the language of the school and language of the home as it relates to both the cultural identity of the child and of h/er parents. While the child develops a competence to participate in the culture of the school, s/he is also developing a competence in the language of the culture as well.

If the child is very young, the development occurs more quickly and more easily than it does if the child is older. As the child chips away at the periphery of the new culture in h/er drive to break through to a status of involvement and acceptance, the parents discover that they understand neither the strange vocabulary the child imports into the family configuration nor the tenor of the culture it represents. Not only is the imported language incomprehensible to them, but the meaning of its meaning is alien as well. In basic pragmatic terms, these parents discover that they can no longer communicate with their children. The situation is perhaps most severe in the case of the child who elects to place h/er allegiance with the culture of the school. But the same situation is certain to generate similar, if less intense, effects for either the student who rejects the school culture or who avoids the decision entirely. What is not negotiable at all for any student is that speaking English in the school is imperative. That message is unmistakable and, for any student who ignores it, the penalty is clear.

A usual consequence of this communication deterioration is a shift in the traditional role of the child and the role of the parents. The cultural alienation process virtually assigns the role of council and pedagogue in the new culture to the child. In this shift of role from parent to child, the

child becomes the translator and the interpreter. It is the child who functions as the medium of contact and explanation involving virtually everything which, under happier circumstances, one could characterize as the everyday happenings and procedures peculiar to existence in the new world. In more cases than not, it is the child who finds h/erself functioning as the link between h/er parents and the administration of the very school s/he attends. As many of the Toronto Board's interpreter-counsellors and social workers have pointed out, the child very often becomes the medium through which the parents and a teacher or a principal discuss the very problem the child experiences in h/er school career!

(c) The Impact

The very thrust of the struggle in the children of immigrant parents to resolve the issue of cultural allegiance cannot but dictate that the immigrant student school h/erself to conform to a new order of living in the cause of recapturing recognition, an acceptable level of worth and a healthier self image. What the schooling implies is the displacement and eventual dissolution of an original heritage. At the very least, school for that student is a medium of transition from one culture to another. At most, it becomes the blunt instrument of cultural transplant surgery.

Still, the cost of escape from a self-perception as a marginal non-entity to the refuge of a new cultural involvement reaches further. To the destructive impact of marginality and the sabotage of h/er own cultural heritage, the student now must assign h/erself the guilt of rejection, disapproval and even shame of parents and family. At another level, the guilt finds more upon which to nourish itself. The fact of life in a new culture which manufactures the role of the child as pedagogue, means that parents experience the ultimate humiliation of becoming their children's children with the accompanying dissolution of status which the reversal implies. The child's new role is, of course, involuntary. While s/he might, initially, respond to a new sense of control as a result of h/er parents' dependency, s/he is also the cause and the witness of their humiliation. Simultaneously, s/he becomes the victim of h/er own shame of h/er parents.

If it were possible to separate the general configuration of guilt and humiliation involving the relation of child to parent, parent to the larger community and parent to child under these conditions, we would find another element of negative impact. That is the embarrassment of the child who finds h/erself in the position of having to function as a two-way interpreter for the parents. Psychologically, this element of embarrassment

contributes to the complex impact of the social situation precisely because it is so inextricably bound in with its other effects. These aberrations of the human condition are far from calculated to engender the psychological, neurological or emotional securities in the children of immigrant parents so necessary for their growth and development. The meaning of opportunity is measured in terms of an internal capacity to exploit it. Any assault upon personal securities mitigates against the development of this internal capacity. In effect, the mitigation means a depreciation of educational opportunity for the ethnic student quite apart from the direct, academic handicap s/he must automatically assume because the school, its language and program, and perhaps its method of operation are totally alien to h/er.

II Reception and Placement

It is self-evident that the first concrete and real experience of h/er school career has urgently significant implications for the rest of the immigrant student's entire life. These implications make the nature and character of the student's reception and placement in the school a matter of some concern. The incidence of negative implications in the reception and placement of New Canadian students in schools is far too broad and variable to track in this issue paper. However, it is possible to recognize that often the first and only direct personal contact the student has in the school for quite some

time is the school secretary who becomes the chief functionary in the reception and placement process. Often the initial contact develops only enough information to determine the student's age, ethnic background and the last school grade s/he attended in h/er country of origin. Some schools employ other students of like ethnic background for this purpose. The "buddy" system comes into action which makes student A the pedagogue for student B; that carries its own ramifications. Or, to focus the concern on the candidate for secondary school, it is possible to review the situation of the student who became so completely disoriented when he entered a building with more than 2,000 students, that his endurance of utter dismay at his own inability to make any meaningful contact with the bustling confusion and the obvious disinterest of students and staff alike lasted about ten minutes before he bolted for home. It is clear from present information that despite a range of reception and placement procedures from the "buddy" system to full reception centre classes, the system is in need of a reception, orientation and placement policy accountable to the principles of responsiveness and support which will guarantee the new Canadian student an opportunity to begin h/er new school career in the security and confidence that h/er chances of survival are not in question.

III Streaming

Stated bluntly "streaming" in this section refers specially to the placement of children of extra Anglo-Canadian parents in vocational schools.

On April 12, 1973, the Board of Education's Work Group on Vocational Schools made the following statement:

> "It is evident from many of the oral submissions and from the briefs (from ethnic organizations), that much good-will exists towards the Toronto Board for its efforts to educate New Canadians. It was just as evident, however, that some immigrant groups feel that our understanding of their problems has been less than complete".

In an introduction to an October 1971 report on Program Placement Related to Selected Countries of Birth and Selected Languages, the Board's Research Department made the following observations:

> .... it is indicated that those children who learned English as a second language are almost twice as likely to have parents in the lower occupational categories as children who learned English as a mother tongue.
>
> .... the data showed, among other things, that students whose parents held low income jobs are more likely to be found in special vocational and two-year programs than children whose parents held high income jobs. The data also showed that children who learned English as a second language but were born in Canada were the most likely to be in five-year programs (and not in special vocational or two-year programs); whereas, the children who learned English as a second language but who were born outside Canada were the least likely to be in the five-year programs.

Looking at the combined effect of occupation and New Canadian status requires complex statistical tables. However, it is possible to demonstrate the sense the message such tables convey with a few excerpts.

Low Income Group - Occupational Category ("A")

Background Code **	Level I-II Spec. Voc.	Level III 2 yrs.	Level V-VI 5 yrs.
1	10.33	13.51	40.65
2	5.14	4.98	66.19
3	8.21	10.67	43.84
4	9.59	15.52	43.99

High Income Category - Occupational Category ("B")

Background Code			
1	.51	.92	89.94
2	.45	1.81	90.45
3	.43	2.63	88.15
4	.00	1.80	87.78

* Occupational Category "A" - Labourers, truck drivers, taxi drivers, waiters & porters.

Occupational Category "B" - Teachers, professional engineers, physicians, lawyers, accountants, computer programmers, aircraft pilots.

** Code 1 = Canadian born students, English the mother tongue
Code 2 = Canadian born students, English not mother tongue
Code 3 = Foreign born students, English the mother tongue
Code 4 = Foreign born students, English not mother tongue

We see clearly that students who have parents in high income categories have about 9 chances in 10 of being in a 5-year program,

regardless of language background. Where the parents are in low income position their chances are only about 4 out of 10. The exception is that chances of second generation non-English speaking children taking a five-year program are about 2 in 3. One must never forget, however, that the parents of children who speak English as a second language are twice as likely to be in a low income job compared to English speaking children.

Thus we see that occupation is more related to program placement than immigrant status and that furthermore the non-English speaking children born in Canada are less handicapped than their older siblings who were born overseas. Indeed other detailed analysis suggests that children who began their education in their mother land are most handicapped as demonstrated by school placement. Those children who are born in Canada are overcoming the apparent handicap indicated by the low income jobs still available to their parents.

While this paper intends to avoid overloading itself with statistical reporting, it is appropriate to include data which demonstrates the likelihood of vocational school placement for children of immigrant parents who are not of British origin.

Background Code	N	Level I-II Spec. Voc. %	Level III 2 & 3 yr. %	Level IV 4 year %	Level V-VI 5 year %	Total
1	16041	6.6	8.5	27.8	57.1	100.0
2	4653	4.0	4.4	20.4	71.2	100.0
3	1953	5.3	7.8	29.7	57.2	100.0
4	7933	8.4	12.5	28.0	51.1	100.0
Total	30624	6.6	8.9	26.9	57.7	100.1

While the system may justifiably derive real satisfaction from the observation of the high percentage of secondary school students from all categories enrolled in Levels IV, V and VI schools, the issue is no less critical for the young people, or for their parents, who occupy Levels I, II and III columns of the data table.

There are two important observations. First of all, 20.9 percent of students with Background Code 4 (i.e. Foreign born students for whom English is not their native tongue) go to Level 1, 11 and 111 Schools. Of those students for whom English is not the native tongue, but who were born in Canada (i.e. second generation New Canadian students) 8.4 percent are found in Level 1, 11 and 111 schools.

The other significant observation is that this Research Department study presents the latest figures available, and they are 4½ years old. That a sizeable increase in the actual immigrant student population has developed since the date of the report is evident.

One of the problems that exists in these data is that the report from which they are extracted does not address itself to the question of new arrivals from the islands of the West Indies or other countries where English is the population's mother tongue.

However, another segment of the same report published ten months later does provide data on immigrant students from islands of the West Indies and Guyana. The October 1971 report counts 616 such students registered in the schools. Of that number, there were 23.7% in what are now Level I, II, and III schools. In rough proportion one-quarter of the students were either in special vocational programs (vocational schools), or two-year programs (e.g. in service occupation oriented secondary schools), one-quarter were in four-year programs (technical or commercial) and one-half were in five-year programs (academic or high level

technical). Again, perhaps the most important element of these findings is their date. Though later data are not available, it does not require a head count to realize that there has been an enormous influx of students from the West Indies during the last four years. The influx has served to amplify a problem of adjustment to Anglo-Canadian traditions, customs and other cultural peculiarities which the schools of Toronto particularize. Conjecture postulates that a combination of their relatively small number (616 in October 1971 and the clear evidence that they are an English speaking people could account for an unspoken assurance that all was well in their relation to the Toronto system. The pressure of recently increasing numbers has operated to dissolve the assurance. Though their problems are of a different character from that of other immigrants, they are as real and as confounding as those which any other immigrant student encounters.

IV The Ascription Question *

In its interim report of April 12, 1973, the Work Group on Vocational Schools in Toronto registered the following opinion:

> It has been suggested that immigrant students be given tests in their native language if any con-

* Ascription in this paper refers to the reason or cause which people attribute to a given incident or event. For example, a student may fail to respond to question because s/he has a hearing problem. The teacher may consciously or unconsciously conclude that the child is "retarded".

> fusion exists as to their potential in school. Such tests might reveal whether a student's apparent low ability is merely a reflection of cultural and linguistic differences. If it is, the student could probably achieve at a high level eventually and should be helped towards this true realization of potential rather than placed in a vocational school.

At the base of this suggestion is the understanding that "low achievement" may well be an expression of an incompatibility between the student's own cultural/linguistic heritage and the cultural/linguistic base of the school. It raises the issue of how schools determine the causes (ascription) of student performance. There is no more clear illumination of the ascription issue and its effects than in the relationship of the West Indian students to the school system. These students apparently employ the same language signal system as the schools and they arrive with an apparently British cultural base to support their school careers in Toronto. Given these apparent advantages, why or how one-quarter of them finds themselves in I, II and III level schools becomes a confounding question. Recently, discussions with social workers, professional educators and community workers of West Indian or similar (e.g. Trinidadian or Guyanese) heritage inform us that both the cultural and linguistic compatibilities are merely apparent. Furthermore, the nature of the cultural/linguistic difference varies considerably depending on the island, or country, from which the student emigrates. Discussion also reveals that the

school experience itself of the West Indian students before s/he immigrates is materially, organizationally and procedurally other than our own to such a degree that h/er career in the new school environment is almost incomprehensible to h/er. A simple example: "speaking out" in class is a procedural aberration on some of the islands. Teachers do not normally question students, and they do not expect responses from students to any rhetorical questions they might pose. School protocol prohibits such exchanges. In many Toronto schools, on the other hand, expectations of student responses to specific questions are high. The question naturally arises as to what prevents a student of West Indian origin from responding to a specific question? Is s/he dull, inattentive, frightened, polite, or is some other form of inhibition operating? To what does the teacher, the principal or the system ascribe demurral in these instances?

There are, of course, numerous other examples of the ascription issue. Similarly, it must be observed that still other examples exist to illustrate the seriousness of the issue in relation to students from a great many ethnic groups other than the West Indian group as well.

Whether or not submitting immigrant students to tests in their own language would result in more accurate ascription is a moot point. It is predictable that expectations of success may well

depend upon the possibility of framing such examinations in the specific dialect, or at least peculiarities, of a given national language (e.g. southern Italian as opposed to northern Italian communication characteristics) and in specific cultural contexts. Nevertheless, there is one certainty about ascription which it is not reasonable to ignore apart from the question of whether or not tests and examinations would resolve the issue. It does exert a strong influence on streaming procedures, and it requires close study and subsequent adjustment.

V Teachers' and Principals' Perception of the Immigrant Student's Requirements

That the question of school staff and administration's perception of the immigrant student and h/er needs relates closely with such other issues as ascription, streaming, reception and placement, etc. hardly requires more than mention in passing. Given the cultural bias of schools, it is understandable that the cultural posture of principals and staff is certain to influence their perception of the student who represents a heritage and culture other than their own. While it is important to focus some attention upon specific characteristics of the cultural bias to identify its complex working, it is important to recognize the difficulties involved in the attempt. The difficulties arise from demands the attempt itself makes to generalize both the cultural characteristics of immigrant communities and those of the host community as

it expresses itself through its schools. The fact is that however the characteristics of the host community, its schools and the immigrant community reveal themselves and what precisely such characteristics are depends upon the influence of virtually inumerable variables within all three generalizations which operate to form a concrete relationship between them at any given time. The category of the school (i.e. contemporary, traditional, innovative), the immigrant community's (communities') country of origin and its (their) own "place" or status in the cultural configuration of that country, the age of the children under consideration and even the sex of these children are all factors which determine whether or not the teachers and principals' perception of ~~the~~ immigrant students' needs are compatable with those of the immigrant community (communities) they serve. As a matter of fact, the school's perception of a child's needs, and its acceptability, are often a matter of issue to a greater or lesser degree for a great many communities in which there is little immigrant population or none at all.

However, given the actual condition of countless variables operating in all dimensions of the school-community-student relationship, a few generalizations are possible if one cautions h/er response to an awareness of:

(1) degree; and

(2) segments of applicability of any cultural bias to that of any other.

Perhaps the broadest of these generalizations is that of involving the cultural differences which are clearly visible between:

THE CHILD ORIENTED FAMILY AND THE FAMILY ORIENTED CHILD:
By and large, and with notable exception, the bias of continental North American culture has shifted from a focus on the family oriented child to that of the child oriented family. In the community this focus stresses the need for the child to be more or less free to pursue h/er own interest and h/er own growth and involvement opportunities. Under this new orientation, the child becomes a significant decision maker in matters concerning h/er own development. The cultural value upon which the orientation rests is, of course, the contemporary adult world's notion that children learn through an exposure to appropriate "models", rather than through training, to be secure, self-reliant, confident, sophisticated, variously accomplished, sociable, etc. Thus the tendency is for parents to bring three year old children to concerts, ballet, etc. as well as to enroll boys in hockey leagues at a young age; to organize elaborate birthday parties, outings and social gatherings for children. There is also a tendency to separate child activity from adult activity.

In the schools this "new freedom" is reflected in developmental programs at the elementary level and a multiplication of options, or elective courses, at the secondary level.

By and large and again with a few notable exceptions, on the other hand, the tendency of the immigrant communities is to orient the child to the will of the family which, in a majority of the cultures the community as a whole imports to North America, focuses on the authority of the dominant male. In some cases the dominant male may be the father of the primary family (i.e. mother, father, children). However, in many other cases, the dominant male may well be the grandfather of the "extended" family, or even the grandmother. Patriarchy is strong in the family configuration. Child constellations are relatively fixed in the family configuration and may remain in effect long after the children reach adulthood.

In these family structures, children are either not involved in decisions about their own growth or their involvement is far more limited than it is in the modern North American family. Paradoxically, children in a great many immigrant communities are much more integrated in the life of the adult segment of the family in that there is little tendency to create a child's world. Rather the child is more likely to be in the adult world

as opposed to the adult's presence at appropriate times and for appropriate reasons in the child's world.

To the parents of children from immigrant communities, the casual, random and apparent disorder that characterizes developmental programming at the elementary level is baffling and even discouraging. As in almost any cultural group, including those of the Anglo-North American, schools are cultural instruments which must function co-culturally rather than contra-culturally. To many immigrant communities children's "play" is merely a permissable respite from the serious business of maturation. To parents of such communities, the developmental program in school is play-full, unnecessarily indulgent, cavalier, a waste of their children's time and ultimately a danger to their own cultural heritage since it appears to encourage disrespect for adult authority and status. In their perception not only do their children learn very little in academic terms, but the entire domestication process based on close discipline, direct behavioural control and imbuement with status, privilege, decorum and formal relationships becomes imperative.

Of course, the degree to which a given school's method is contra-cultural depends upon the cultural heritage of the specific ethnic population involved. It may be that it is more acceptable for boys than it is for girls. It may also be acceptable for younger children than it is for older children

(i.e. primary children as opposed to junior children). In some cultures, for example,part of the school's role is to proceed with the early formal development of deportment appropriate for girls while boys enjoy relative leniency in their early years. As schooling progresses, however, there may well be an increasing expectation that the boy begin to exhibit specific signs of intellectual accomplishment and academic achievement while the expectation for the female student is that deportment continues to develop. The question of intellectual accomplishment and academic achievement remains as a second order of priority.

At the secondary school level the distinction between the child oriented family and the family oriented child could prove to be most acute for the young adults of specific ethnic population. For some cultures, the existence of "option sheets" and "elective programs" are baffling simply because the tradition of schooling is itself a major factor in the culture itself. In many European countries, the decision as to what constitutes a viable academic program belongs to the school. The idea that the student is expected to "tell the school what s/he will study", as one parent put it, is incomprehensible to people from such countries.

In terms of the school operation itself, whether the expectation of the school and of the ethnic community represented in its student body are compatable or incompatable depends on the degree to which the school is traditional or contemporary and on the cultural heritage of the ethnic community(ies) concerned. In schools where social and relational sophistication development is considered to be as real a need for young people as is intellectual and academic development, the casual movement of students, social interchange between the sexes, informal exchanges between teachers and students may all represent the schools abdication of its responsibility to control students and to imbue them with a protocol of formality, appropriate respect for authority and the delicate relational proprieties between the sexes. On the other hand, the more tendency a secondary school exhibits toward the traditional notions of student behaviour, the more acceptable it would be to certain specific ethnic populations.

Secondary schools especially walk a very thin line in this context. Tight regulation of the student body may prove satisfactory to ethnic parents, but it may well run afoul of the student body itself in terms of students' rights. This issue becomes particularly delicate when the student is a legal adult, but who is still a family accountable subordinate

as the child of ethnic parents in terms of h/er cultural heritage.

It is apparent that the general difference of family-child orientation between the "North American" and many European cultures derives from a culturably based perception of a child's needs in terms of h/er growth. It is this difference which underlies a major proportion of misunderstanding about the school's role in fulfilling specific needs as the school staff sees them and as some ethnic communities might see them.

THE QUESTION OF GRATIFICATION DELAY AND OTHER ASSOCIATED NEEDS: There is little doubt that most schools in Toronto, whether they tend to function traditionally or in accordance with concepts of the "new education", see the development of the child's capacity to postpone immediate satisfaction for future satisfaction as a learning need. Of course the cultural value supporting that perception is fairly common to a great many countries other than Great Britain, Canada and the United States. The difference is in degree as well as in the "method" of transfer from one generation to the next.

What developmental programming brings to this question and others which are associated with it is an organization of "learning" environments which permits such factors as the child's motivation, interests, inquisitiveness, exploration etc. to function in

the cause of the child's own self-determination of the value of delaying gratification and h/er self-ingendered commitment to the principle. The operational principle of developmental programming is that through access to experience and exposure to role models in a more or less "free" environment, the child will h/erself develop h/er own realization of its value gradually, and certainly, with a minimum of external coercion and regulations and external behaviour control authority. In short, along with the child's "need" to develop such characteristics as "attention span", the capacity for involvement in activities for which one has little or no liking (everyone must learn to accept work s/he doesn't like), the tenacity to complete projects once one begins them, etc., the child's need for a capacity to delay gratification depends for its fulfilment upon a prior need. That is the need to explore h/er own relation with learning to discover the value of these characteristics for h/erself.

For a great many ethnic groups, however, this mode of thinking makes very little sense. Though they might differ one from the other in matter of intensity, degree and age of applicability, these groups are of the opinion that the child needs the control of firm authority and close supervision to ensure fulfilment of all the other requirements. One "makes" a child learn, behave, pay attention, finish a project, etc.

There are virtually hundreds of needs around which disagreement centres as a result of the differences in the cultural base which determines the school system's perception and that which determines the perception of the immigrant parents. The culturally based understanding of what constitutes "the well rounded child", "adulthood and maturity", "play", "work", "citizenship", "achievement", "sophistication", and many more are all actual or potential centres of cultural clash between the school and the ethnic community it serves. Though there is obviously neither the time nor space to treat them all in a paper of this type they are all dimensions of the larger issue of education for a multicultural community and subjects of the present inquiry.

VI The Ethnic Community's Perception of the System

It should be obvious to most reasonable people that the source of the ethnic community's perception of the Toronto school system, and of the local school, is certain to be manifold. Having said that, however, it is likely that the ethnic community's perception would correlate with two general and related causes. One is certain to be a real and concrete grievance. The other relates to issue #IV in that it is identified as ascription. This time, however, the community determines the causes of a school's decision or behaviour which to the membership of the

community may appear to be incomprehensible in any other terms but those it ascribes to a principal or teacher or an entire staff. It should be recognized that real, concrete grievances relating to the treatment of immigrant students, their parents, or other members of the ethnic community involved, often account for negative perceptions of their cause. Such negative ascription may be accurate and incontrovertible. Others may not be accurate simply because the grievance itself is the result of honest error. Often a decision, which in one cultural context may appear to be perfectly competent, will actually communicate a negative posture to the student or parent whose perception depends upon an entirely different culture for its orientation. The school's lack of insight into what such a decision can mean and the student's or parent's understanding of its intent accounts for the error. Real or apparent grievances arising out of unjust or cavalier treatment, out of insensivity or lack of insight in terms of communication all influence the ethnic community's perception of the school and its staff and contribute to its judgement of the school system's posture toward its legitimate concerns. How the ethnic community actually perceives the school and, even more mportantly, how the system can learn about how that community perceives its school, is vital to the success of the schools themselves in providing educational opportunities to the children of immigrant families.

VII School Contact with Ethnic Communities

Imperative to the successful resolution of the issues and concerns outlined thus far is healthy communication between the school and the ethnic communities they serve. This contention hardly needs testing. In certain areas particularly, it becomes virtually impossible to consider the improvement of mutual understanding and, therefore, of healthy school-community relationships outside the context of viable communication endeavours. One such particular area is that which involves the ethnic community's perception of the school and, conversely the school's perception of the ethnic community generally and of its ethnic student population specifically.

By and large, "routine" communication procedures usually involve the school's use of students as carriers for notes and announcements to parents. Normally, the notes and announcements call parents to an "open house", to interviews for the purpose of reporting on student progress or to a "community" meeting. At the secondary school level, some schools schedule interviews for the parents of ethnic students for the purpose of explaining the function and significance of the subject "option" sheet. Others send students home with the option sheets. This paper is not the place to lay out all the ramifications of these single line, one-way communication procedures. It is a place to observe that a great many of them rest on assumptions

about the meaning and purpose of communication arising out of a specific cultural stance which may well prove to be incompatible with that of the community itself. Others rest upon assumptions about the role schools should play in the area of school-community relations. That the membership of a community may very easily receive a message completely out of phase with that which the school transmits is always a strong possibility even when the school and the community manifest relatively compatible cultural positions. When the two are culturally and linguistically out of phase with each other, the possibility magnifies itself inordinately.

The need for the reconciliation of cultures projects the prior requirements for re-examining what the school's, and the school systems, referent of the term "communication" is, what it ought to be and, as a consequence, a determination of how to realize what it ought to be. In its best form, the term refers to the process of sharing. In the context of education, sharing would refer to the discharge of the adult world's responsibility to provide maximum growth and development opportunities for their children.

That schools, as public educational service delivery agencies, ought to signal their affirmation of the sharing (communication) process requires no discussion. It is apparent that to

accomplish the community's perception of that affirmation is itself a major communication issue. It is equally evident that the forms and procedures of community contact efforts are certain to exert their own influence upon the communication endeavour itself. Thus the question of effective communication becomes the question of community contact. How to realize the contact in the cause of communication and, by extension, in the cause of strong and healthy school-community relationships working to discharge a responsibility which all adults share is a question of major priority for everyone in every context. In the specific and highly particular context of education for the children of immigrant parents, the promise of success in any degree virtually evaporates without that realization.

VIII Educational Support Services

Contact between the schools of the Toronto system and their ethnic communities depends heavily on the energy and function of the ethnic social worker and the interpreter-counsellor. This observation is by no means intended to imply that the psychological and psychiatric support services are of little significance in the education of ethnic children. Nor does it intend to discount the possible contribution a social worker can make to the solution of specific social problems involving an immigrant student when the worker's ethnic background does not identify with the ethnic community the student represents.

What it does intend to point out is that the social worker of a specific ethnic heritage and the interpreter-counsellor, whom the Board employs precisely because s/he is of a specific ethnic origin, naturally function at the leading edge of school-community contact. In their disucssion about their role in ethnic communities the ethnic social workers and interpreter-counsellors were candid in their observation that their chief source of effectiveness is their capacity to function as the school's advocate in the community and the community's advocate in the school. What makes the function natural is a tacit reciprocal identification of the worker or counsellor with the ethnic parent and the child and of the parent and child with the worker or counsellor. Quite apart from the intent itself, this identification, through which empathy generates a comprehension and understanding, places the social worker or the interpreter-counsellor in the role of school-community liaison worker who functions at a close and intimate level in the ethnic community. It is apparent that the operation, organization and development of the liaison energy source which these support service personnel represent is critical and deserves close examination.

IX The Ethnic Teacher

It appears to make complete sense to assume that the prospects of improving both community contact between the school and its

local community and the education of the community rests in orienting employment practices toward ensuring that the school staffs reflect the ethnic make-up of the community itself. The history and tradition of any school system is anchored in the memory of an era when the school staff and the community it served shared a cultural, social and linguistic identity which attested to the validity of the school's role in that community. A natural and spontaneous concourse of events which established the community also produced the community's institutions including its school and its church. Contemporary discussion of the need for a given school to reflect the cultural, social and linguistic identity of a given community is generated in an attempt to recapture the results of those events in the context of a multicultural dynamic. While the issue of education in a democratic society would appear to validate the attempt and lend it strong approbation, questions associated with the assumptions upon which the attempt rests, develop. They are side effects which no enquiry into multicultural education programs can ignore. There are teachers of extra Anglo-Canadian origin who argue vehemently against the notion <u>if the intent</u> is to promote the maintenance of the culture and the language of the ethnic student. There are ethnic communities who argue against it as well. There are other teachers and other community members of extra Anglo-Canadian origin who would favour the notion <u>if the intent</u> is

to promote a smooth and humane transition for the student from h/er original heritage to that of h/er new country. On the other hand, there are Anglo-Canadian teachers who insist that ethnic differentiation of staffing is valid if the intent is to promote the maintenance of the student's original cultural and linguistic heritage; that to effect such differentiation merely to "trick" the student into deserting h/er cultural heritage is unethical and immoral. There are still others who place their arguments for and against the notion on strict grounds of academic advantages or disadvantages. This does not begin to address those questions related to racism, fair employment practices and civil rights or questions related to the pragmatic procedures necessary to accomplishment even if and when questions of ethnic academic advantage, community communications, etc. have been settled.

X Multicultural Education and Question of Ghetto-ization

Because the question of Ghetto-ization is probably the most volatile of the several issues and concerns set-out here, this statement must, of necessity, be the most brief. Indeed to venture into any statement about the question at all would force a long and tortuous discussion of the nature of the assumption upon which the very stimuli to raise the issue rests. Such a discussion would be out of place in this statement of issues and concerns which this paper identifies as

elements of inquiry. It is sufficient to note that the implications of the question itself are clear. Equally clear is the question of capacity to generate further questions all of which deal with the ethics of human interaction and responses. An outline of such questions is appropriate here:

- What is a ghetto?
- Is it possible for a school to create a ghetto because of the programs it operates or do ghettos create schools?
- Apart from the above questions, how are ghettos established?
- Are the people who live in ghettos responsible for their existence?
- If they are not responsible, who is?
- Should one ask the question of what human conditions generate ghettos rather than who is responsible for their establishment?
- Is the term "ghetto" and all that its use imports appropriate when it refers to extra Anglo-Canadian ethnic communities?
- If parents move from one neighbourhood to another in order to send their children to a school which they feel is appropriate, does the assembly of families in the school's neighbourhood result in a ghetto?
- What are the operating factors which distinguish a ghetto from other neighbourhoods?

Obviously, the questions are many. Because the first question, that of Ghetto-ization itself has arisen, the present inquiry is committed to addressing it.

Conclusion

The real conclusion about the issues and concerns appearing here can come only as a result of subjecting them to inquiry. What appears more appropriate than conclusions at this point in the inquiry process is to repeat the observation that the issues and concerns are by no means definitive or exhaustive. As the introduction to this paper has stated, the outline is only the beginning of definition and completion. Its end awaits consultation with as many groups and individuals who have an interest in the overriding issue of education for both adults and children in an ethnic city.

One conclusion appears to be imperative, however. That is the observation that none of the items set out in the paper are discrete, or separate, in the human experience that has generated them. On the contrary, they are thoroughly interactive and interdependent in actual operation. Regardless of any intention to the contrary, any discussion of one will automatically involve discussion of one or two, or even all, of the others; that may well be the best evidence of their validity.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR THE CITY OF TORONTO'S ETHNIC POPULATION

A General Observation

Virtually all the programs functioning under the Toronto Board of Education's jurisdiction lend themselves to the operational description of withdrawal, reception and transition classes. However, there are distinctions related to principles of program function which define the intent and operational base of programs as opposed to the mechanics of their operation.

I Withdrawal

Three distinct types of withdrawal classes exist today:

(a) Instruction in English as a Second Language (ESL);

(b) Cultural Immersion (Anglo-Canadian); and

(c) Bicultural/Bilingual Immersion.

(a) The withdrawal of New Canadian students for specific, fixed periods of the day for the purpose of instructing them in "English as a Second Language" (ESL) is the Board's oldest tactical method of providing these students with special learning opportunities. It involves academic language instruction techniques and it is still fairly widespread throughout the system at both the elementary and secondary levels. Since the principal

of each school usually places these programs in his or her school in terms of the requirement as he or she sees it. The actual period of withdrawal, calendar schedule and the identification of the New Canadian student who participates in them varies across the system. The intent is to provide the student with a degree of competence in the language of the school which will assist h/er in h/er career there. Its fundamental assumption is that language instruction is the channel of entry into culture, and its intent is Anglo-Canadian acculturalization of the student.

(b) The strategy of "Cultural Immersion" involves the New Canadian student's placement in a "reception" class for an unspecified calendar period after which s/he moves to full participation in the regular school program. Although this program employs withdrawal procedures, and the class itself is referred to as a "reception" class, the actual process is a <u>transition</u> process through the operation of which the student becomes a full-time participant in the regular school program. The period of withdrawal varies from a quarter to a half day depending on the decision of the school principal.

The program now functions in junior schools throughout the system where the principal uses h/er discretion in

making a specific decision as to the need.

Unlike the ESL instruction withdrawal classes, Cultural Immersion withdrawal classes employ an anthro-historical model of language development rather than an academic model. It operates on the principle that language is the product of cultural development rather than the other way around. Its intent is to provide a culture and, therefore, language development opportunity which will enable the student to internally integrate the new (host) culture and h/er own <u>within herself</u>. Thus, rather than society and its culture internalizing a given personality, the personality internalizes the given society and its culture.

Neither ESL instruction nor Cultural Immersion withdrawal programs have the maintenance of the New Canadian students' own culture and language as an intent.

(c) The concept of bicultural/bilingual programming represents the Toronto Board of Education's latest step in the direction of response to the inherent requirements of specific ethnic communities. Two programs, one Greco-Canadian and one Chino-Canadian are presently, in their final planning stages. They will begin sometime during the coming school year with the Chino-

Canadian programs operating in two schools and the Greco-Canadian operating in two others. The project will begin as a pilot experiment and the withdrawal period will be fixed at thirty minutes of each day it operates. Each of the four schools will establish its own calendar and time schedule in accordance with all other scheduling requirements of the school day. The operational principle upon which these programs will function is two-fold. The first is that culture is the source of language development; the second is that the language and cultural learning is neither a linear nor a displacement process, but that any psycho-physical organism (given an absence of obviously debilitating aberration) is competent to sustain growth in two or more cultural configurations simultaneously.

The intent of these projected programs is manifold which makes its description somewhat complex. Nevertheless, it can be said here that one segment of its intent is to provide some measure of opportunity for the young of Chinese and Greek parents to maintain their own heritage without sacrificing any opportunity to achieve maximum growth and development in their new culture and language.

II Transition

Transition as applied to the New Canadian students operates in two ways in the Toronto system though both of them have the students' development of English language competence and their capacity to function in the system as their intent:

(a) Cultural Immersion reception class to regular school routine;

(b) Language of birth to language of the school.

(a) This transition process is, in effect, a middle phase in the New Canadian student's movement from reception to full participation in the regular school program. Not to be confused with the reception-transition function of the Cultural Immersion withdrawal classes (Withdrawal (b)) which operate from the grade 2 to 6 level in junior schools, these transition classes articulate directly with the full-time reception classes of the city's west-end senior schools. Of course, on the other hand, the transition class is firmly articulated with the regular school program as well. Their purpose is to provide the student with a channel of gradual entry into the mainstream school programs once feels ready to attempt such a move after experiences in the reception class have provided with both the necessary capacity and the

self-confidence. As was h/er stay in the reception class, h/er stay in the transition phase has no fixed duration. As s/he becomes increasingly involved in a regular program of the school, h/er involvement in the transition phase decreases until such time as s/he feels sufficiently comfortable to drop it entirely. The student is free to retreat into the transition classes whenever s/he begins to flounder or become insecure in the regular school program.

Although the transition class is articulated with the reception class, or centre, its participants are much less involved in the cultural-immersion strategies of the reception class itself simply because students in transition classes already possess a sufficient degree of cultural familiarity and language competence. Apart from its actual transition function, another purpose of the transition class is to provide interim support and assistance to students who experience problems in coping with specific subjects as well as with problems of adjustment which they may encounter in the regular school procedures and programs.

(b) Known as the Grande proposal, this transition program is directed specifically at using the Italian language as

the "language of instruction" with the intent of gradually phasing it out and replacing it with instruction in English. Like the bicultural/ bilingual programs for the Chinese and Greek students, this transition program is operating as a pilot experiment for Italian children in one school. The program began at the kindergarten level with a population of 35 Italian children. It is expected that the students will complete the transition from Italian to English by the time they reach the end of Grade 2; that their Grade 3 program will proceed entirely in English.

III Reception

There are full-scale full-time reception classes in every senior school west of Yonge Street and south of St. Clair Avenue which provide Cultural Immersion programs for New Canadian students. Known as Mini-Main Street Centres, these programs represent the proliferation throughout the southwestern segment of the city of the Cultural Immersion strategy which developed out of the original Main Street experiment. Though an adequate explanation of this strategy would require far more space and time than this paper can afford, some description of its operation appears appropriate.

As are the reception-transition withdrawal programs in the junior schools, the programs in the senior school reception centres operate on the principle of the culture's generation of language which itself is based on an anthro-historical model of human growth and development. Operating with a PTR of 12 to 1, the teacher attempts to pedagogically introduce the students to their new culture as it is reflected in the environment it has developed. S/he depends on serendipity and genuine ambiguity to generate spontaneous, casual and natural communication (sharing) opportunities between the students and h/erself and among the students as well. Travel, which brings students to their new environment, and media technologies, which bring various elements of the environment to the student, combine to involve the participants in an intense exploration and discovery process which cultural immersion stimulates. Since the explanations and descriptions of outerance as academic subjects, e.g. grammar, syntax studies and visible language structures, are the responsibility of the school itself rather than of the reception centre, the reception teacher concentrates h/er energies in the area of language learning as a continuously and persistently integral element of the pedagogical procedure. The student's involvement in the reception centre has no fixed duration since h/er preparation for participation in the regular school program proceeds ath/er own speed. The purpose and intent of the programs is to eliminate the impact

of cultural collision through the reverse integration referred to in Withdrawal (b).

OTHER PROGRAMS:

In addition to the programs this paper has already described, there are others which fall outside the category of programs for New Canadian students who attend schools during the day in the regular school year. These are identified as Summer Sessions, Adult Evening Sessions and Adult Day Sessions.

I Summer Sessions

As of this writing, Summer Sessions include:

(a) Half-day programs in 17 centres for elementary school students (grades 2-8);

(b) Half-day programs in one centre for secondary school students. As of the current sessions, secondary school New Canadian students who have elected the program receive a full credit toward their regular diploma;

(c) Full-day programs for adult students at one centre;

(d) Adult New Canadian evening programs operate in six centres as Summer Sessions.

II Adult Day Sessions (Winter)

Three adult day programs operate in three centres.

III Adult Night Sessions (Winter)

Fourteen adult night centres operate during this period

All these programs are Cultural Immersion Programs and, with one exception, their intent is to provide the student with the capacity to function in the Anglo-Canadian Cultural/Lingual context. The exception is the more intense academic program directed toward the Michigan Test, which is a university entrance examination for mature students.

THE ROLE OF THE NEW CANADIAN PROGRAMS DEPARTMENT:

The New Canadian Programs Department is accountable for the Evening and Summer Sessions of New Canadian Programs, and it has direct jurisdiction over all phases and aspects of their operation. All other Programs for New Canadian students fall under the jurisdiction of the Area Superintendents and, through their authority, under the jurisdiction and discretion of the school principals. For those schools which have elected to operate reception centres, transition classes, and part-day reception-transition withdrawal classes consistent with Cultural/Immersion strategies, the Department assumes a consultative role.

Main Street School

The Board established Main Street School as a reception centre for the young of immigrant parents who settled into the east end of the city. It has functioned in that capacity since its establishment. At present, it offers a special two year program for New Canadian Students of senior public or secondary school age.

The purpose of the program is to provide the students with opportunities to develop proficiency in English which will enable them to function in a regular school program. Its student population is heterogeneous both in terms of its multi-ethnic make-up, and the age range it represents. The principal of the school describes the program as a combination of Cultural Immersion, Academic Language Training and Instruction, and various subject studies. The maintenance of the student's original culture and language is not an element of the Main Street program.